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CSCE DIGEST

June-July 1988

Eastern Europe: "Hope For Positive Change"

In a June 28 plenary speech before the delegates to the Vienna Follow-Up Meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, U.S. Ambassador to the CSCE, Warren Zimmermann, talked of developments in Eastern Europe and their effect on the Helsinki process. What follows is the text of Ambassador Zimmermann's speech:

"There are recent developments in Eastern Europe that have a direct relevance to our work here and therefore deserve our attention. Throughout Eastern Europe there is a hope for positive change, and a feeling that change may actually take place. In some cases it is taking place. On both the level of Governments and the level of individuals, some positive movement is discernible.

"The growing role of individual citizens and groups is apparent across the area as a whole. On several occasions since the Vienna Meeting convened, private groups and individuals from various countries have demonstrated a concern that goes beyond events in their respective countries. They have come together in a joint effort to address issues of common importance: the respect shown for human rights in each country. They have spoken as one, for example, on repression in Romania, on a crackdown on independent activities in the German Democratic Republic, and on the plight of imprisoned conscientious objectors. The joint efforts they have undertaken, and the success of such efforts in the future, will be an important measure of how well the CSCE process develops in the time to come.

"There are welcome changes for the better in implementation of Helsinki commitments, particularly in Poland and Hungary, as well as the promise of further progress. Unfortunately, however, all too much remains the same in East European countries, as recent events demonstrate.

"In East Berlin just a few days ago, people gathered with the hopes of listening to rock concerts being performed on the other side of the wall. The gatherings were peaceful and orderly. In point of fact, aside from the intimidating police presence, the listening audience was by-and-large tolerated. Rather, it was the Western journalists present who were harassed, pushed, and otherwise hindered in their work by GDR police.

"Ironically, such events occur as we in Vienna work to strengthen both our understanding of each other's countries and to protect the work of journalists. Indeed, such events demonstrate how much remains to be done in fulfilling the Helsinki commitments already undertaken, let alone in establishing the new objectives to which we will commit ourselves here.

"In Hungary the trend has been toward greater accommodation of dissent. A proposed law on associations will affect the continued functioning of the new independent youth groups and a union of scientific workers. Yet Hungary has been the scene of recent events which have caused concern. On June 16 -- less than 2 weeks ago -- in Budapest, Hungarian citizens who wished to honor those executed for their participation in the 1956 Revolution were prevented from doing so by the authorities. Some activities were tolerated, including memorial ceremonies at the cemetery, a theater and a church. However, when crowds gathered peacefully at Heroes Square, the Batthyany Memorial, and in Vorosmarty Square, police intervened to break up the demonstration, detained several individuals and, according to reports, beat some of them.

"Czechoslovakia has been the recent site of an egregious act of noncompliance with the Helsinki Final Act. Many of our colleagues here have already voiced their outrage over the breaking up of peaceful meetings and subsequent expulsion of our respective nationals, including 10 American citizens. Even Prime Minister Strougal -- in contrast to the Czechoslovak delegation here -- has indicated some regret over the course of events. Such violation of CSCE commitments is not an isolated incident; in Czechoslovakia, individuals are frequently harassed and even sometimes imprisoned for acting upon their Helsinki-guaranteed rights. Pavel Wonka, who died in prison in late April, was one such individual. Another is Charter 77 signatory Jiri Wolf, who is still serving a 6-year prison sentence, to be followed by 3 years' "protective supervision" for "jeopardizing state secrets." His real crime, apparently, was to disseminate information about prison conditions in Czechoslovakia. There are grounds for concern that the conditions of his confinement may have the gravest consequences for his health. If released at the end of his sentence, Jiri Wolf will have served about one-half of his adult life in detention for his human rights activities.

"In Romania, human rights performance remains poor, and there is fear that it soon may get even worse. This is true, for example, with regard to human contacts, despite the resolution of several prominent cases. Over the last 3 months there has been a significant slowdown in the resolution of Romanian-United States divided family cases. This has, for example, significantly delayed departures by the spouses and children of Romanians. Moreover, Romanian authorities are blocking the resolution of some 300 pending adoptions, involving many CSCE participating States.

"Recently, the Romanian Government has begun to accelerate its implementation of a plan, announced in the 1970's, to restructure village life. According to this plan, some 8,000 of Romania's 13,000 villages will be destroyed in order to create new "agro-industrial" centers. When these villages are demolished, demolished with them will be the folk cultures they represent. Even more severe in human terms, the bulldozer's blade and the wrecker's ball will destroy the actual dwellings of people who had no voice in the decision to obliterate these material elements of their existence. The effect will be particularly damaging on the ethnic Hungarian and German communities in Romania, communities whose opportunities for expressing their ethnic traditions and culture are being squeezed smaller and smaller. It is difficult to imagine a display of greater disdain for CSCE commitments.

"In Bulgaria, little progress is evident in respect shown for important Helsinki commitments. Efforts to assimilate the ethnic Turkish minority by force continue, including prohibition on the public use of the Turkish language. Those forced to change their own names have not been allowed to change them back. Religious practices are restricted, and hundreds of people have reportedly been jailed in the villages for offering resistance to

(continued on page 7)

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Millennium Commemorations in the Soviet Union

Several interesting developments and some promising gestures by the Government surrounded the official Soviet celebrations of the Millennium of the Christianization of Kievan Rus' in early June. Soviet authorities gave the Russian Orthodox Church's celebrations their official blessing, and religious leaders from all over the world and prominent Soviets, such as Raisa Gorbachev and President Andrei Gromyko, attended events and met with church dignitaries. Soviet television provided favorable and extensive coverage of the jubilee celebrations. Also, the Soviet Government announced the return of a section of the famous Kiev Monastery of the Caves to the Orthodox Church and has recently allowed the large-scale importation of Bibles. In turn, the celebrations underscored both the Russian Orthodox Church's role as the dominant religious institution in the Soviet Union, and its subservience to the state.

The Soviet Government's tentative embrace of the Russian Orthodox Church, however, has not extended to reformers within the church or to other religious denominations. During the official celebrations, unofficial groups conducted church services for prisoners of conscience. An unofficial Moscow theological seminar on violations of the law on religious cults drew over 100 participants from a cross-section of the religious community, and, on June 5, a commemoration organized by the unofficial Ukrainian Culturological Club was held in Kiev.

On the eve of the millennium celebrations, the Russian Orthodox Church agreed to hold unprecedented discussions with the Vatican in Finland on the Ukrainian Catholic Church. This church was forcibly incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church in 1946, yet millions of Ukrainian Catholics continue to lead an underground existence, using Eastern Christian rituals while professing allegiance to the Pope. During the official commemorations, Vatican Secretary of State Cardinal Casaroli and Cardinal Willebrands met with several underground Ukrainian Catholic bishops and priests in Moscow.

Also in early June, Chairman Hoyer and CoChairman DeConcini responded to a letter from a group of deputies of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet which had strongly criticized a congressional resolution on Soviet Government persecution of believers in Ukraine. The deputies' letter was sent to House Speaker Jim Wright, who forwarded it to the Commission. The Chairman and CoChairman wrote that despite the deputies' assertions that freedom of conscience is guaranteed to Soviet citizens by the Constitution, "in fact, the peaceful practice of this right is frequently thwarted by Soviet authorities." Responding to the deputies' claims that no one in Ukraine is imprisoned or persecuted for religious convictions, the Commission letter detailed repression of believers in Ukraine, focusing on the destruction and current plight of the banned Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches. The letter also expressed hope that the Soviet Government will continue to take more positive steps in its treatment of religious believers.

Conscientious Objection Legislation in Poland

The Polish daily *Rzeczpospolita* announced that on 17 June the Sejm, or Parliament, approved a new military oath for conscripts. In addition, the Sejm is continuing consideration of a new form of alternative service for conscientious objectors.

Over the last 18 months, Poland has witnessed the emergence of a conscientious objection movement called "Freedom and Peace," known by its Polish initials as "WiP." As explained to members of a Helsinki Commission delegation to Poland in April, while some members of the group oppose military service of any kind, others have indicated a willingness to serve but are unwilling to take the military oath.

The old military oath contained, inter alia, a promise to ". . . steadfastly protect the freedom, independence, and borders of the Polish People's Republic against imperialist encroachment, to relentlessly safeguard peace in fraternal alliance with the Soviet Army and other allied armies. . ." The WiP activists have protested the requirement that new recruits swear allegience to the Soviet Army.

The new oath, in its relevant provision, states, "I swear to spare no effort and, if necessary, to give up my blood and my life to faithfully protect the independence, sovereignty, and borders of the fatherland and to defend peace in a brotherhood of arms with the allied armies."

Jacek Czaputowicz, the unofficial leader of the WiP movement, had previously indicated satisfaction with a draft of the new oath. However, the final version of the oath contains some slight changes and WiP has not taken a stand on it yet. Since June 17, nearly 100 conscientious objectors have been released from prison.

Respite In Nagorno-Karabakh Crisis

On July 25, the Armenian population of the Nagorno-Karabakh territory in Azerbaidzhan ended its 2-month-long strike. Since late May, stores, factories and public transportation in the region had been shut down by Armenians protesting the Kremlin's stonewalling on their demand to be made part of the Armenian Republic. Soviet domestic radio reported that these strikes were having a small impact on an already low Soviet economic output.

The Nagorno-Karabakh Armenians have called off their strikes because, as a noted Armenian poet said, "You cannot break a wall with your head." On July 18, the Supreme Soviet Presidium ruled out the transfer of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia, as sought by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Armenia and the enclave's local legislature but opposed by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaidzhan. The Presidium did vote to send an official task force to oversee the restoration of order to the region and appointed a commission to examine possible measures to take note of local grievances.

Halting these strikes is seen as a victory for General Secretary Gorbachev in what was the most severe test of his leadership to date. Since February, there have been huge street demonstrations, violent clashes with an official death toll of 36, and an unofficial tally 10 times that, and illegal strikes. Armenia and Azerbaidzhan took opposing sides on the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh, precipitating a constitutional quandry. Given the high pitch of public involvement over Nagorno-Karabakh in Armenia and Azerbaidzhan, further confrontation is expected.

Trade Policy Focus of Commission Hearing

U.S.-Soviet trade policy was the subject of a recent Commission hearing featuring the Honorable C. William Verity, Secretary of Commerce ; Richard Perle, Resident Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and former Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy; Michael Bonsignore, President of Honeywell International; Roger Robinson, President of RWR, Inc., a consulting firm; and Dr. Paula Stern, Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

The discussion focused on human rights concerns and their relationship to U.S. trade policy, including such issues as Jackson-Vanik, forced labor, Western lending practices to Warsaw Pact countries, and private joint ventures between the two countries. The following are excerpts from the witnesses' testimony.

SECRETARY OF COMMERCE, C. WILLIAM VERITY

"Our delegation had two objectives [April 1988 trip to Moscow]: First, fundamental improvements in our trade relationship with the U.S.S.R. depend upon further improvements elsewhere in the bilateral relationship, especially in human rights and emigration; and, second, to seek specific improvements in market access for U.S. companies in the Soviet Union. We believe we achieved both goals.

"At the forefront of all my discussions were Soviet obligations on human rights. I made it clear that we will continue to relate improved trade relations to emigration and that the United States cannot extend most-favored-nation (MFN) tariff treatment, official trade credits, or a trade agreement with the U.S.S.R. in the absence of sustained and substantial emigration from the Soviet Union."

RICHARD PERLE

"It is sometimes argued that expanding trade between the United States and the Soviet Union entails no concessions to the Soviet Union and that extending most-favored-nation treatment to the Soviet Union amounts to little more than the removal of discrimination against Soviet products entering the United States.

"The fact is that there can be no such thing as equal access to each other's market so long as the Soviets control their economy centrally.

"When we open our market to Soviet products, they are given a full opportunity to compete against the products of our other trading partners as well as those manufactured here.

"No U.S. Government agency controls potential buyers of Soviet goods. But when the formality of most-favored-nation status is extended by the Soviet Union to the United States, the result is quite different. A central government authority could, if it wished, vitiate the benefits of a nominal market access by instructing the purchasing entities under its control.

"It is for this reason that MFN is not genuinely reciprocal, but represents a major American concession to the Soviet Union, if and when it is extended.

"The same is true, of course, with respect to access to credits. It doesn't take a banker to figure out in which direction credit is likely to flow if we and the Soviets agree that each is prepared to extend credit to the other.

"Jackson-Vanik prohibits government credit from going to the Soviet Union. Removal of that restriction would be a major concession to the Soviets. So, in both these cases, we are talking about unrequited concessions."

DR. PAULA STERN

"While trade is a handmaiden of politics, it's a weak one, and it works best, when it works, when it's a carrot, not a stick.

"Our leverage is limited. First and foremost, by the economic constraints on U.S.-Soviet trade itself, trade matters less to the Soviet Union, which tends to be autarchic than it does to the United States, which finds itself increasingly economically interdependent.

"Now, the success of a given policy of altering Soviet behavior depends largely on what's being tried to be accomplished. The manner in which demands are couched is also important. If demands are presented belligerently and highly advertised, chances of successfully gaining concessions from a great power like the U.S.S.R. are less."

ROGER ROBINSON

"The stature of Basket II of the Accords, mandating the exploration of possiblities for expanded East-West economic activity, has risen in importance dramatically in the 1980's.

"The centrally controlled economies of the East bloc have tended to attract greater Western trade and financial flows as a substitute for reforms rather than as a stimulus.

"Soviet bloc leaders traditionally have found it easier to import technologies and critically needed goods than to release the controls on their economies which inhibit innovation and entrepreneurship.

"Given these realities, it is evident that a politically influenced Western bailout of the Soviet bloc in the form of government-guaranteed untied loans of the kind recently made by West Germany to Hungary, government-sponsored joint ventures in the energy sector, subsidized trade, and substantially expanded access to high technology is not appropriate in the absence of systemic economic reforms and broad-based human rights liberalization."

MICHAEL BONSIGNORE

"Under the U.S.S.R. Joint Venture law as revised in the fall of 1987, each ministry was empowered to enter into such (joint) ventures utilizing its juridical entities and based upon the hard currency reserves available to it.

"It became clear that we were dealing with a different and new generation of government officials who were highly motivated to make change happen. As in any large organization, however, changes at the top, accompanied by a strong desire for change at the bottom, creates a very uncomfortable middle bureaucracy.

"Even within our partner ministry, it was clear that there were certain people who were either not supportive of the changes around them or not prepared to believe in them yet. Its senior management, however, was consistently open to compromise, was continuously supportive, and displayed a problem-solving orientation.

"We feel it is in the interest of the United States to move toward bilateral agreements with the U.S.S.R. that reinforce trade as a vehicle of peace and protect the partners from after-the-fact interference.

"We have seven operating principles that we adhere to in our company, and one of those talks about no discrimination for race or color or employment opportunity. Simply as a modus operandi within our company, (because) we are dealing in a lot of places around the world with a lot of different ethnic groups; our success as a corporation depends on our ability to demonstrate that equal opportunity throughout our organization."

NOTICE.—The quotes contained herein were taken from the transcript of the Commission hearing on May 10, 1988. They have been abridged by the Commission staff for purposes of clarity in this publication.

Update on Vienna Follow-Up Meeting

Modest advances were made during the recent round of the Vienna Follow-up Meeting, the third such meeting since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975. The talks, which opened in November 1986, have focused on implementation of existing CSCE commitments and negotiation of a concluding document covering human rights, economic and scientific issues, as well as military security. From the outset the U.S. delegation, headed by Ambassador Warren Zimmermann, has stressed the importance of implementation, particularly in the areas of emigration, family reunification, political prisoners, and jamming.

Work on a concluding document was given a major boost with the introduction of a comprehensive draft introduced by the neutral and non-aligned states on May 13. Much of the round was devoted to discussion of the various elements of this draft. While there was some narrowing of the differences between East and West, there was little, if any, progress on freedom of movement, monitors, national minorities, secrecy, or jamming. These key issues will be taken up when the conference resumes in late August.

The East continued to press for the inclusion of language in the Principles section which would give primacy to the right of each state to develop its own political and legal systems. The West resisted Eastern pressure, insisting that the equality of all 10 Principles be preserved, including language on respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Some progress was made on the issue of religious education with provisional agreement on a text recognizing the right to give and receive religious education on an individual or collective basis. Serious differences remain between East and West on the questions of monitoring and national minorities. Romania continues to play the spoiler in Principles and Basket III.

The West continued to emphasis the importance of human contacts and information in Basket III. The East attempted to substitute form for substance, relying on various time-consuming procedural devices.

In an attempt to break the deadlock, a series of informal discussions was inaugurated toward the end of the round to tackle outstanding issues. The method was able to achieve limited progress in narrowing the differences between East and West. 34 states provisionally agreed on texts concerning publication of laws and regulations on travel; accommodation in private homes; and working conditions for journalists. Romania held firm to its position that questions of human contacts and information are adequately covered by existing commitments from Helsinki and Madrid. There was no movement during the round on key issues such as freedom of movement, secrecy, and jamming.

Progress was made in Basket II on a text concerning business contacts. Agreement could not be reached during the round on other priority issues such as the rights and freedoms of scientists; the role of environmental groups; and tourism.

Few issues remain outstanding in the area of military security. Negotiations continued among the 23 NATO and Warsaw Pact countries on a mandate for new talks on conventional stability (CST). The East has pressed for the inclusion in the CST of dual-capable systems, those which can be used for either conventional or nuclear purposes. Much of the round was devoted to discussions of the relationship between the CST and the 35 nation CSCE. The United States has stressed the autonomy of the CST from the CSCE, although the talks are to take place "within the framework of the CSCE process."

Considerable work remains in the area of follow-up. More than 30 proposals have been introduced in Vienna on follow-up activities, including a proposal to hold a conference on humanitarian cooperation in Moscow. Agreement on which of these activities will actually take place will have to be reached before the conclusion of the Vienna Meeting.

Commission Leadership Reinforces Performance Requirements for Ending Vienna CSCE Meeting

On July 27, the Chairman and CoChairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, wrote to U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz reinforcing the Commission's criteria for a successful conclusion of the Vienna CSCE Meeting.

While the letter stressed that the Vienna Concluding Document must have a balance between military security and human rights, the Commission leadership, discussed the components of a genuine balance in the human rights field:

"At the very least, we should see the release of the approximately 250 known Soviet political prisoners. For the United States to agree to conclude Vienna while they or the 10 Helsinki monitors remain in prisons or labor camps is to break faith with those who have been unjustly imprisoned. Approximately 50 bilateral family reunification cases are still pending. We see no reason why these cannot be expeditiously resolved nor should we accept anything less than complete Soviet compliance regarding the resolution of these cases. In the category of jamming, the Soviets are allowing Voice of America and the BBC to broadcast, however, they continue to jam Radio Liberty. This is unacceptable and again, to require that this violation of a basic Helsinki principle be stopped is not, in these days of glasnost, anything more than compliance at a minimum. Finally, with respect to emigration, the numbers are increasing. We should insist that this trend not only continue but that concrete steps towards structural reform in the Soviet Union's emigration policies be demonstrated."

The letter concluded:

"As Vienna begins to wind down, we are haunted by the despair described by Natan Scharansky when he and his fellow prisoners received word that the West had agreed to conclude Madrid while they remained unjustly incarcerated. One can only imagine what will go through the minds of those whose faith resides in the actions of the West if we retreat from our position before their hopes, freedoms and aspirations are realized.

"Mr. Secretary, you have been extremely instrumental in emphasizing the importance of human rights as being an integral component of U.S. foreign policy. We commend you for your leadership on this issue and assure you of our support for continued U.S. insistence that Vienna not end until compliance requirements have been met in full."

19th Soviet Party Conference

The 19th Soviet Party Conference was held in June with almost 5,000 delegates in attendence from all parts of the country. General Secretary Gorbachev proposed holding the party conference, the first since 1941, to endorse his reform program. However, rather than forging a consensus on how to deal with the backlog of problems facing the Soviet Union, the conference became a platform for exposing a wide range of views on ways to redress economic and political shortcomings.

Initially Gorbachev had hoped that the party conference would authorize him to replace 30 of the some 300 Central Committee members. Most of these 30 individuals were people whom Gorbachev had ousted from high-level ministry positions, and who, consequently, were hostile to him. However, the conference did not authorize Gorbachev to replace them. As a result, there will most likely be no major Central Committee personnel changes until the next Party Congress, currently scheduled for 1991.

One aspect of the conference is that Gorbachev got only a minimal endorsement of his reform program from the party delegates. Although they could have voted to instruct the Central Committee to adopt Gorbachev's reform program, the conference merely voted to recommend it.

As a follow-up to the party conference, a Central Committee meeting was held on July 29 to take further action on Gorbachev's reform program. Addressing the plenum, Gorbachev urged the Committee "not to lose time." He asserted, "we must act, and act decisively, in resolving practical problems that are becoming increasingly and politically acute." Gorbachev also called for removal of party officials who are blocking the reform program, and demanded an end to the still-strong conservative opposition to the reforms.

The Central Committee agreed to set up a special commission, headed by Gorbachev, to prepare further proposals on implementing political reforms. According to the timeframe proposed by Gorbachev, constitutional amendments to establish a new government system of popularly elected local and regional councils and a national legislature will be debated in October and November. The country's first competitive parliamentary elections in decades are scheduled to be held in March 1989, and the establishment of a new Supreme Soviet with full legislative powers will follow in April. The new parliament will elect an executive president, most likely Gorbachev.

Latvians Arrested

The American Latvian Assocation has reported that one of the demonstrators at a June 14 anti-Stalin demonstration in Riga has been arrested and charged with "hooliganism," while another Latvian has been committed to a psychiatric hospital for his efforts to organize an independent academy to study national issues.

During the June 14 demonstration at which he was arrested, Modris Lujans had carried a placard bearing the words "a curse on murderers of the people," along with photos of Molotov, Ribbentrop, former Latvian Communist Party Secretary Boris Pugo, and the names of eight present Latvian party and government officials. According to a source in Riga, Lujan is an employee at a Riga electrotechnical plant who had been active in the environmental-protection movement. "He is dangerous to the authorities because he is a proletarian," added the source.

The other Latvian held by authorities is Alberts Mucenieks, who was arrested on June 23 as he was collecting funds on behalf of the "Baltic Academy," an organization sponsored by the Latvian Environmental Club. He was sentenced to 10 days of administrative detention, and subsequently remanded to a Riga psychiatric hospital.

Expulsion of Armenian Dissident

On July 26, Armenian nationalist Paruir Airikyan was forcibly expelled by Soviet authorities from the Soviet Union. Mr. Airikyan, who had been held in detention since March, was secretly flown out of the country and taken to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, where he was held in isolation for four days by his Soviet guards. Mr. Airikyan then went to the U.S. Embassy where he was given asylum.

Mr. Airikyan was the head of the Union which sought the holding of an Armenian national referendum on the issue of national self-determination. Although Airikyan supported the transfer of the Armenian-dominated Nagorno-Karabakh enclave from Azerbaijan to Armenia, it was not the primary issue for his group. While he has not been a major leader of the Nagorno-Karabakh protests, Mr. Airikyan frequently traveled to Moscow to relay news about the crisis. Although arrested in March for "slandering the Soviet state," his informational activities were the real cause of his detention.

Since his arrest, Mr. Airikyan had been a focal point of Armenian nationalist sentiment, prompting the authorities' decision to strip him of his citizenship and to expel him from the country. These extreme measures are part of the recent Soviet Government crackdown on the unrest in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Mr. Airikayn has spent 17 years in prison or internal exile for his nationalist activities.

"Rule of Law" Conference in Moscow

The "Rule of Law" seminar, held in Moscow on July 11 - 13, was the third meeting in a series of U.S.-Soviet expert level human rights discussions. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Schifter headed the U.S. delegation which included U.S. Solicitor General Fried; Federal Judge Lowell Jensen; Assistant Attorney General Edward Dennis; NSC staff member, Lisa Jameson; and CSCE Commission Staff Member, Catherine Cosman. The large Soviet delegation was led by Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoly Adamishin.

The discussions focused on the rule of law and other legal issues, including the role of the police, defense counsel, and judiciary in the American legal system. The Soviet side provided perspectives on the reform of their legal code, particularly the Code of Criminal Procedure.

There was a lively debate on the admissability of wiretap evidence. The U.S. lawyers described strict U.S. guidelines on wiretap evidence. Several Soviet specialists, particularly from the Procuracy, expressed hope that such evidence would never be admissable in Soviet courts. Other Soviet lawyers, however, said it was better to have guidelines for possible use of wiretap evidence since that was the only way to prevent abuse.

The U.S. side also discussed various guidelines needed to ensure an independent judicial system, which is an avowed goal of the current Soviet reform program. The issue of the advisability of lifetime appointments to judgeships received much attention, with the Soviets expressing misgivings in cases of incompetence or malfeasance. The Soviets also expressed interest in the workings of the jury system.

The Soviets are said to have recently completed revision of their Criminal Code and to have begun revision of the related Code of Criminal Procedure. The fourth round of these expert level human rights meetings is scheduled for this fall in Washington.

Conventional Stability Talks

On June 23 and July 14, 1988, the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the House Foreign Affairs Committee conducted joint hearings on the status of the proposed conventional stability talks (CST), which the NATO countries agreed at Reykjavik to place "within the framework of CSCE." Testifying at the hearing were Ambassador Rozanne Ridgway, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, and Ambassador Ronald Lehman, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy.

Some observers in Europe and the United States believe that recent developments have increased the possibility of making progress on conventional arms control in Europe. Factors cited include General Secretary Gorbachev's offer to remove "analagous" units of combat aircraft from Europe if the U.S. does not redeploy 72 F-16's from Spain to Italy. Speculation has also arisen over the possibility of a Soviet troop withdrawal from Hungary. It should be noted, however, that many have questioned the credibility of these offers.

Of more immediate concern than discussions about the specifics of force withdrawal, however, are the current negotiations taking place at the CSCE Review Meeting in Vienna regarding a mandate which would provide the operating authority for the CST talks to begin. These negotiations are focusing on the autonomy issue.

In their opening remarks, Chairman Steny Hoyer and Cochairman Dennis DeConcini both expressed concern that if CST was incorporated into the CSCE process, the military/security aspects of CSCE might overshadow its human rights aspects, cautioning against sacrificing human rights progress for the sake of military/security gains.

Ambassador Ridgway addressed the issue of CST linkage with CSCE, indicating five elements of CST autonomy which the United States considers essential to prevent CST from overshadowing the CSCE process. They are: independent scheduling, separate CST conference facilities, independent decision making, separate procedures appropriate to the negotiation, and permanent CST autonomy which could not be altered by decisions taken as a result of the normal CSCE process.

These measures would facilitate CST negotiations among the 23 NATO and Warsaw Pact nations, yet Ambassador Ridgway indicated that, "while the NNA acknowledge CST autonomy in principle, their paper proposes procedures and modalities which would subordinate the negotiation to the CSCE and provides and NNA right to oversight of the decisions of the 23. Perhaps most troubling, it would allow a future follow-up meeting to determine the fate of CST and alter its autonomy."

Ridgway continued, "Although there are differences of view within NATO on the relative merits of the NNA (neutral and nonaligned member nations of the CSCE) security text, we and our allies have agreed to accept the comprehensive NNA draft as a basis for the final document. We are committed to beefing-up the human rights portions, while protecting CST autonomy on the security side."

Ambassador Lehman echoed many of the same concerns regarding the need to maintain CST autonomy, raising the role of confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs) which are already negotiated within the context of CSCE saying that, ". . . we face a tremendous challenge trying to negotiate both confidence-building measures and conventional stability talks within the framework of CSCE. Whereas the former has proven to be an exercise well suited to the CSCE process, the latter introduces issues and interests that, to be frank, we have sought in the past to exclude from the CSCE."

Developments since the July 14 hearing have led to a unified Western position on the autonomy questions which strengthens the United States' negotiating posture with the NNA and the East on this key issue.

Events In Hungary

In mid-June, several hundred Hungarian citizens marked the 30th anniversary of the execution of Imre Nagy and other participants in the 1956 Revolution. During ceremony at the cemetery where the executed are known to be buried, and at memorial events in a Budapest theater and church, Hungarian authorities did not disrupt the proceedings.

However, when crowds gathered peacefully at Heroes Square, the Batthyany Memorial, and later in Vorosmarty Square, the still existing limits of official tolerance became known, as the police intervened to breakup the demonstrations, detaining a number of individuals, and, according to reports, beating some of them. Among those detained were members of a group of Hungarian dissenters known as the "democratic opposition."

The demonstrations were the first between the opposition and the authorities since Karoly Grosz replaced Janos Kadar as General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party in May. On June 13, the party daily, *Nepszabadsag*, printed a speech by Grosz in which he warned of "administrative measures" that might be taken against "the enemy and opposition."

Proposed laws on assembly and association, however, hold the possibility of broadening the range of permitted, independent activity by Hungarian citizens. These developments, including the events in June, give mixed signals as to what changes may take place in the official treatment of dissent in Hungary in light of the country's new leadership and continuing economic difficulties.

Foreign Journalists Expelled from Czechoslovakia

During the weekend of June 17-19, Czechoslovak police selectively broke-up seminars arranged by Charter 77 and the Independent Peace Federation-Initiative for the Demilitarization of Society (IPF-IDS) and subsequently expelled over 30 foreign participants. The organizers of the seminars had planned to discuss three subjects at separate meetings: the role of human rights in securing democratic peace; militaristic ideologies in propagating hate and violence; and compulsory military service. However, the meeting on compulsory military service was the only one permitted to take place.

Among those expelled were foreign participants from the United States, the United Kingdom, Denmark, Norway, Italy, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, India, Sweden, and Austria. Several ambassadors to the Vienna Review Meeting of the CSCE meetings protested both the expulsion of their own nationals as well as the detention of Czechoslovak organizers and participants. The CSCE Ambassadors cited the actions of the Czechoslovak police as contrary to Czechoslovakia's commitments to respect and promote human contacts under the Helsinki Final Act.

Yugoslav Dissident Briefs Commission

On July 13, the Commission and the House Human Rights Caucus sponsored a briefing for congressional staff, which featured Yugoslav dissident, Dr. Franjo Tudjman. Tudjman, a Croatian, is a co-chairman of the N.Y. based Committee to Aid Democratic Dissidents in Yugoslavia (CADDY) and has been imprisoned in Yugoslavia on two occasions, most recently in 1981 on charges of "hostile propaganda." Dr. Tudjman is also a founding member of the Helsinki Committee of Yugoslavia, formed last year. Attending the roundtable discussion were other experts on Yugoslavia, including Mihajlo Mihajlov, analysts from Voice of America, the Library of Congress, and local academics. Congressman Joe Kolter (D-Pa), who shares a common Croation heritage with Dr. Tudjman, also participated in the discussions.

Recent events in Yugoslavia have given form to a complicated and explosive political, economic, and human rights situation. Recent arrests of journalists in Slovenia, the nation's most "liberal" Republic, and continued tensions between Slavs and the Albanian minority in Kosovo have raised the concerns of human rights activists. Widespread labor unrest, including a march by 4,000 workers that culminated in the occupation of the Parliament building in Belgrade, an inflation rate of about 150 percent, a foreign debt of $21 billion, and declining standards of living have fueled a general clamor for political and economic changes.

A number of speakers expressed their belief that the ongoing crisis in Yugoslav socialism is so profound that no past models are relevant and new ideas need to be tested. In addition, the need to address the nationalities issue was a recurring topic of the discussions. Dr. Tudjman reiterated the Yugoslav dilemma of "decentralization versus democratization," maintaining that progressive reform cannot work in Yugoslavia without the recognition of self-determination and the differing national characters of the Yugoslav Republics. There appeared little disagreement that immediate reform is necessary, but there was considerable debate over the desired form of the changes and the best way to implement them in the decentralized Yugoslav political system.

The Crimean Tartar Struggle

On June 23, Commissioner Dante Fascell spoke in the House of Representatives of recent developments in the struggle of Crimean Tartars to return to their homeland. This struggle had enlisted the support of Dr. Andrei Sakharov who wrote to General Secretary Gorbachev in March of this year asking him to resolve the Crimean Tartar issue. What follows are excerpts from Commissioner Fascell's statement:

"Earlier this month, the Soviet Government granted thousands of Crimean Tartars the right to return to their homeland, 44 years after Stalin accused them of collaborating with the Nazis and forcibly deported them to remote regions of the Soviet Union. This long-overdue and very welcome development follows the unprecedented day-long demonstration in Red Square last July by hundreds of Crimean Tartars and subsequent similar demonstrations staged all over the Soviet Union.

"The tragic struggle of the Crimean Tartars, 200,000 of whom were rounded up in one night in May 1944 and shipped off in sealed boxcars to central Asia, has long been championed by Soviet human rights activist Andrei Sakharov. It is estimated that over half of those resettled - a total of 112,000 people - perished during the deportation and in the following 18 months. A 1967 decree of the Supreme Soviet exonerated the Crimean Tartars of collective war crimes and Sakharov advocated their 20-year campaign to return to their homeland, which became part of the Ukrainian SSR in 1954. On March 21, 1988, the Nobel Peace Prize laureate sent an appeal to General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev asking him to make a 'just and unavoidable resolution to the plight of the Crimean Tartars.' Soon after, Sakharov received a telephone call from Gorbachev to discuss the letter.

"The June 9 decision by a Government commission, headed by President Andrei Gromyko, granting the Tartars the right to return to Crimea, appears to be in response to this and other appeals. The statement issued by the Government commission acknowledged that the rights of the Crimean Tartars had been violated and guaranteed them 'complete equality with other Soviet citizens in all matters.'"

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the assimilation campaign. And while there have been a few reunifications of ethnic Turk children with their parents in Turkey, there are still a large number of individuals who continue to be denied permission to leave Bulgaria. Recently resumed bilateral talks between Bulgaria and Turkey could lead to the resolution of these cases, but it is fully within the Bulgarian Government's power to address these issues within the context of its CSCE commitments.

"Some Bulgarian citizens, wishing to increase the respect shown by their Government for human rights, have acted upon their own rights and formed an independent human rights group. One person involved in forming the human rights group, Eduard Genov, is serving 2 years of forced exile in Mikhailkovo for his activities. Similarly, Grigor Simon Bozhilov remains in forced exile in Kaynardzha because he signed an appeal to this meeting in early 1987. These violations of Helsinki and Madrid commitments call into question the seriousness of official Bulgarian statement about the changes to be expected in the country in the near future.

"Poland is making progress in an important area which has been touched on at this Vienna Meeting. The Polish parliament has changed the oath sworn by conscripts and is considering a new form of alternative service for those whose conscience does not permit them to serve in the armed forces. If these proposals come to fruition, they will remove the single most frequent cause of arrest for political reasons in Poland. The right of assembly in Poland will apparently be liberalized. And high-level officials have spoken about the need to form a coalition of groups which would cooperate with the Government in overcoming Poland's ongoing crisis. We hope that such an alliance between state and society will embrace all segments of society.

"It has been said before - and I fully expect it to be repeated - that issues such as I have just discussed are inappropriate for this stage of the Vienna Meeting. I strongly disagree. There is no inappropriate time for discussion of either advances or setbacks in the Helsinki process. A necessary function of follow-up meetings like Vienna is to examine - objectively, fairly, and candidly - compliance with commitments we all have assumed. The authorities in Czechoslovakia, Romania, and the GDR did not apparently consider the present time inappropriate for their recent acts of repression. How then can it be inappropriate to refer to them? As long as this Vienna Meeting runs, it provides a forum - an appropriate, in fact a necessary, forum - for the examination of important events that occur beyond the antiseptic confines of our meeting."

Ukrainian Girl In United States for Emergency Treatment

Two-year old Hanna Sverstiuk, granddaughter of former political prisoner and Ukrainian rights activist Yevhen Sverstiuk, arrived at JFK International Airport on July 17 for emergency medical treatment for a brain tumor. Hanna, who was born in Kiev 1 week after the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, was a normal, active child until mid-May, when her eyes became crossed and symptoms of weakness on the right side of her body appeared. Her condition steadily worsened, and, after physicians in Kiev and Moscow offered no hope for a cure, her family decided that the only recourse was to seek emergency treatment in the United States.

With the help of family friends, members of the Ukrainian-American community, the White House, State Department officials, and the Helsinki Commission, plus the cooperation of Soviet officials, Hanna and her mother were able to receive visas in less than a week. The four ranking members of the Commission, Chairman Steny Hoyer, CoChairman Dennis DeConcini, Senator Alfonse D'Amato and Representative Don Ritter, sent a telegram on July 12 to Soviet Minister of Health Chazov asking his assistance in facilitating Hanna's speedy departure to the United States.

After arrival, she was transported to Children's Hospital in Philadelphia where doctors removed a tumor from the base of Hanna's brain on July 22.

GDR Police Interfere with Concert Goers

For the second year in a row, GDR police interfered with those attempting to listen to or report on rock concerts being held on the other side of the Berlin Wall, in the British sector of West Berlin on the weekend of June 18-19.

Last year, loudspeakers in West Berlin were aimed eastward for the benefit of the other Berliners who are, as a rule, deprived of rock concerts. East German police dispersed the large crowd of young people who had assembled on the eastern side of the wall, just opposite the concert site. The youth, in an unusual turn, made headline news by calling out the name of the Soviet leader, "Gorbachev! Gorbachev!," apparently in a plea for more glasnost, and rock concerts, at home.

This year, in contrast, loudspeakers were not aimed from west to east, apparently in accordance with a pre-arranged agreement between the leaders of the divided city. Nevertheless, young people gathered at the wall to hear as best they could the nearby concerts being given by Pink Floyd and Michael Jackson. Police anticipated the audience by blocking off access roads to the area and by flooding the site with police during the 2 days of scheduled concerts.

Still, an estimated 4,000-5,000 East Berliners were able to congregate near the wall over the course of the weekend. During the shows, few listeners were actually detained or arrested by the police. Rather, foreign journalists covering the event bore the brunt of GDR interference. Television crews were reportedly roughed-up by plainclothes police or simply blocked from entering the area. The incident was protested by the chief of the delegation from the Federal Republic of Germany at the ongoing Vienna Review Meeting, where additional commitments on the protection of journalists are currently under discussion.

POCs Released from Perm Camp

Russkaya Mysl' reports that several prominent Soviet political prisoners were released from the special regime zone of Perm Camp No. 35 in early July. The freed individuals are Father Alfonsas Svarinskas, Lithuanian priest and member of the Catholic Committee for the Defense of Believers; Mart Niklus, an Estonian POC who joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group while in labor camp; Ukrainian POC Grigory Prikhodko; and Russian POCs Vyacheslav Ostroglyad and Vitaly Shmelev.

According to the same report, eight "special zone" prisoners still remain at Perm 35: Ivan Kandyba, Mikhail Alexeyev, Ivan Sokulsky, Vasil Ovsienko, and Mikola Horbal, all of whom are Ukrainians; Estonian POC Enn Tarto; Russian Orthodox priest Deacon Vladimir Rusak; and Belorussian activist Mikhail Kukobaka. During a meeting with an official of the U.S.S.R. Procuracy in Moscow, Prikhodko was told that "papers were being prepared for the release . . . of a group [of prisoners from Perm 35]" and that the "7-year-guys," Kukobaka and Rusak, would be released "apparently, by the end of the year."

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